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ABSTRACT

A review of the meanings of work, career, occupation, and job begin this monograph, which takes up other concepts such as leisure, play, and avocation. Because the theoretical basis of career education is considered to be career development theory, the essay discusses life stages, developmental tasks, and career patterns. The implications of the highly industrialized nature of our society for careers and for career education are then examined, including the continuing need for people even in a largely automated economy. The importance of work to semi-skilled workers, office workers, executives, and professionals, as well as to youth, the elderly, the handicapped, ethnic minorities, and women is considered, along with the competing and complementary roles provided by the family, leisure, and civic life. That the increasing number of society-maintaining workers may find new life meanings through these aspects of their careers is taken into account, together with their implications for career education. The monograph concludes with a listing of six objectives of career education which are made necessary by the diverse meanings of work in our changing society. (Author/TA)

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MONOGRAPHS ON CAREER EDUCATION

CAREER EDUCATION AND THE MEANINGS OF WORK

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PREFACE

The importance of work in the lives of men and women, and, even though they often do not realize it, the lives of youth, as well as to the functioning of an economy, is made clear by many scholarly studies and many popular accounts. It is because of this importance that career education is the subject of so much attention today.

But the role of work has been changing, and with it our concepts of occupations and careers. Much work is monotonous and unfulfilling for most of those who do it, and not everyone who would like to work can find any kind of work. But the lives of these men and women go on, other roles sustaining them and, if they are fortunate, providing opportunities for self-fulfillment.

This monograph begins, pedantically it may at first seem to some, with a review of the many meanings of work, career, occupation, and job. In doing this it follows the precedent of the American Vocational Association and of the National Vocational Guidance Association (Position Paper on Career Development, Washington, 1973). But it goes further in the search for clarity: It takes up other concepts such as those of leisure, play, and avocation. "If babel is to be avoided, if the behavior sciences are to contribute to education, if curricular specialists are to conceptualize their work adequately, if career education is to make an enduring contribution to education rather than to be a passing fad, the terminology of career development, of work and careers, must be clarified and standardized . . . This essay surveys usage, identifies the distinctive and useful meaning of each key term, proposes standard definitions for these key constructs, examines social trends involving them, and finally discusses their implications for career education."

The theoretical basis of career education is considered to be career development theory, so the essay discusses life stages, developmental tasks, and career patterns. The implications of the highly industrialized, and perhaps post-industrial, nature of our society for careers and for career education are then examined, including the continuing need for people even in a largely automated economy. The importance of work to semi-skilled workers,

office workers, executives, and professionals, as well as to youth, the elderly, the handicapped, ethnic minorities, and women is considered, along with the competing and complementary roles provided by the family, leisure, and civic life. That the increasing number of society-maintaining workers may find new life meanings through these aspects of their careers is taken into account, together with their implications for career education.

The monograph ends with a listing of six objectives of career education which are made necessary by the diverse meanings of work in our changing society.

Montclair, New Jersey
January 14, 1976

Donald E. Super, Ph.D.

CAREER EDUCATION AND THE MEANINGS OF WORK

Current interest in career education has brought together, although it has not united, a greater variety of behavioral scientists and educators than have most curricular movements; in public education perhaps only desegregation and integration have done more to focus their collective interest, and there the focus has been not so much on the content as on the structure of education.

Coming together in any true sense of the term means communication, and intellectual communication requires a common language. Impressed by the different meanings evidently given to identical terms by those who have written on career development, a topic central to career education, and by the conceptual confusion which results from failure to define and from different definitions, five major works (each from the fields of labor economics, industrial sociology and anthropology, personality and social psychology, industrial psychology, counseling psychology, school counseling, and career education) were examined for their use of key terms in the realm of work and careers. These do *not* include the recent policy paper of the Office of Education, U.S. DHEW (Hoyt, 1975), the unpublished Hoyt papers which led up to it, nor the National Institute of Education's bulletins (1973, 1975), all of which represent a new trend in career education leadership. These are discussed later.

When, as in the case of a new field such as career education, key journal articles were more important than texts or chapters in symposia or handbooks appeared to have landmark status, they were substituted for books in this analysis. Multiple authors of a book or a chapter were treated as one, or when a source used two different definitions it was treated as two fractions. Topical indexes were supplemented by scanning relevant chapters. When definitions were clearly implied, they were treated as explicit; when vague, they were considered as failing to define. Similar definitions were grouped, with the result that those appearing in Table 1 are not quotations, but paraphrases.

The key terms selected for study were those which were considered central to career development and hence to career

education by the writer, a research associate[1], and the Career Psychology Mobile Seminar, an informal group of vocational psychologists[2] which meets twice each year for in-depth discussions of ongoing career development research and theorizing.

The results of this lexicographical effort appear in *Table 1*. A larger sample would no doubt change the frequency distribution somewhat, but it would not produce greater uniformity of usage. Examination of this table reveals that there is indeed great diversity of usage. Some terms, for example "work," are defined by some disciplines, left undefined by some writers in most specialties that use them, and unused by other writers; even when defined, the definitions vary not only between but within disciplines. The term "career" is given three different definitions by industrial sociologists, left undefined by one who uses it, and unused by one; the labor economists give it three definitions, of which one is different from the sociologists, or do not use the term at all; most industrial psychologists do not use it; and the career educationists typically fail to define it or, unlike most of the sample of counseling psychologists (who use three definitions), tend to use it as a synonym for occupation.

If babel is to be avoided, if the behavior sciences are to contribute to education, if curriculum specialists are to conceptualize their work adequately, if career education is to make an enduring contribution to education rather than to be a passing fad, the terminology of career development, of work and careers, must be clarified and standardized. Instead of repeating the errors which arise from relying on dictionaries which appropriately reflect usage and thus perpetuate multiple meanings, instead of creating confusion with idiosyncratic and arcane meanings, it is essential to give each term the precise meaning required for scientific and professional communication and to gain acceptance of these meanings. This monograph surveys usage, identifies the distinctive and useful meaning of each key term, proposes standard definitions for these key constructs, examines social trends involving them, and finally discusses their implications for career education.

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[1] Dr. Meral Culha

[2] The Career Psychology Mobile Seminar, in 1974-75: Drs. John O. Crites, William C. Bingham, Carol Turner, JoAnn Harris Bowlsbey, Douglas T. Hall, Martin Hamburger, Thomas L. Hilton, John L. Holland, Jean Pierre Jordaan, Martin Katz, Mary Sue Richardson, Benjamin Schneider, Donald E. Super, David V. Tiedeman, and Bert W. Westbrook.

Table 1

KEY TERMS IN CAREER EDUCATION AS DEFINED BY A RELEVANT SAMPLE OF ECONOMISTS, SOCIOLOGISTS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, AND EDUCATORS

				Psychologists			
	Labor Econ.	Ind. Sociol. and Anthro.	Pers. and Soc.	Ind.	Couns.	Sch. Couns.	Career Educ.
Career							
Any sequence	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
Succession of jobs held Recognizable pattern.	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
Orderly sequence of statuses and functions, occupational, familial, leisure, resulting from the pursuit of emergent values.	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Activities, occupational and others, constituting a life pattern.	-	-	-	-	2	-	1
Sequence of experiences in world of work with objectives and consequences, with or without progression.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sequence of jobs to constitute a career ladder.	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Occupation.	-	-	1	-	1	1	2
Undefined.	-	1	1	-	1	3	2
Unused.	2	1	1	4	-	-	-
Vocation							
Activities, occupational and others, constituting a life style expressed in time, energy, and ability.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
A calling, occupational or otherwise.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occupation.	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Occupation with sense of commitment.	2	-	-	-	3	-	-

Table 1. KEY TERMS IN CAREER EDUCATION—Continued

	Labor Econ.	Ind. Sociol. and Anthro.	Psychologists: Pers. and Soc.	Psychologists: Ind.	Psychologists: Couns.	Psychologists: Sch. Couns.	Psychologists: Career Educ.
Undefined.	-	-	-	1	2	2	-
Unused.	3	5	5	4	-	2	4
Occupation							
Work done by adults on a regular, usually paid, basis.	-	1		-	3	-	-
A type of work activity, similar tasks constituting similar jobs in various establishments, with a market value.	3	-	1	-	4	2	2
Social role resulting from diversification of work.	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Undefined.	2	3	2	-	1	2	1
Unused.	-	1	1	5	-	1	2
Job							
A continuous period of paid employment with one employer or in self-employment.	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
A group of similar positions in one organization.	-	-	1	1	3	-	-
A group of similar work tasks to achieve an essential and enduring purpose in an organization.	-	-	-	3	-	1	-
Any definite work calling for technical behavior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
An occupation.	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
A work place, incl. the nature of the work and setting.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Undefined.	3	4	1	1	1	2	1
Unused.	-	-	2	-	1	2	2

Table 1. KEY TERMS IN CAREER EDUCATION—Continued

	Labor Econ.	Ind. Sociol. and Anthro.	Psychologists: Pers. and Soc.	Psychologists: Ind.	Psychologists: Couns.	Sch. Couns.	Career Educ.
Position							
A set of tasks performed by one person.	-	1	-	-	3	-	-
Location of a person or a set of persons in a network of social relationships.	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
Undefined.	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
Unused.	5	2	3	5	2	3	5
Task							
A unit of work performance.	-	-	1	4	-	1	-
Undefined.	-	2	-	-	1	-	3
Unused.	5	3	4	1	4	4	2
Work							
Effort expended not for its own sake but for survival and other outcomes.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Continuous employment in the production of goods and services for pay.	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Means of earning a livelihood and having a social role that structures life and may facilitate self-fulfillment or inhibit it.	-	1	2	3	4	2	2
A job.	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
Undefined.	1	2	2	1	-	3	2
Unused.	1	-	1	1	-	-	-

Table 1. KEY TERMS IN CAREER EDUCATION--Continued

	Labor Econ.	Ind. Sociol. and Anthro.	Psychologists: Pers. and Soc.	Psychologists: Ind.	Psychologists: Couns.	Psychologists: Sch. Couns.	Psychologists: Career Educ.
Employment							
Work, definition 1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Work, definition 2	1	1	2	-	-	2	3
Work, definition 3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Selection and placement.	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Undefined.	2	1	1	-	-	1	-
Unused.	1	3	2	3	4	1	2
Labor							
Members of the labor force.	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
The "working class", non-managerial employees.	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Production for survival or support.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Undefined.	5	3	-	1	2	1	-
Unused.	-	-	5	4	2	4	3
Leisure							
Freedom from required effort.	-	2	1		1	-	½
Production only for [illegible]elf.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Free outlet for abilities and interests.	-	-	1	-	-	1	½
Undefined.	-	-	2	-	3	-	3
Unused.	5	2	1	5	1	4	1

Table 1. KEY TERMS IN CAREER EDUCATION—Continued

	Labor Econ.	Ind. Sociol. and Anthro.	Psychologists: Pers. and Soc.	Psychologists: Ind.	Psychologists: Couns.	Psychologists: Sch. Couns.	Psychologists: Career Educ.
Play							
Activity without outcome.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Activity for its own sake.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Undefined.	-	-	1	-	-	4	-
Unused.	5	5	4	5	4	1	5
Avocation							
Leisure activity systematically pursued, providing outlets for abilities and interests.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Undefined.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unused.	5	5	5	5	4	4	5

Key Constructs and Terms in Career Development

The terms considered fall into three main categories: 1) Words which deal with work and play as ways of expending time and effort; 2) terms which denote the content of work, how work is organized in larger units for the accomplishment of work, units which are task- or person-centered; and 3) words which denote the structure of work places in producing or distributing goods and services. A fourth category, the importance of work and career, consists of terms useful as modifiers of the first three sets.

Time and Effort: A Set of Basic Constructs

Work.—The term "work" is frequently used without definition, evidently on the assumption that everyone understands what is meant. In the literature sampled, one labor economist, two industrial sociologists, two personality and social psychologists, one industrial psychologist, no counseling psychologists, three school counseling specialists, and two career education spokesmen, of a total of five in each field, use the term without defining it. It is unused by one labor economist, one industrial sociologist or anthropologist, one personality and social psychologist, one industrial psychologist, but used by all career educators. Only in 1973, in a draft document of limited circulation, did the National Institute of Education (CE Task Force, 1973) and last year (Hoyt, 1975) the Office of Education defined the term, in policy statements discussed separately.

Strictly descriptive, non-evaluative definitions dominate all specialties. Some are generic, comprehensive: e.g., "Effort expended, not for its own sake, but for survival and other outcomes," "Continuous employment in production for pay," and "Means of earning a livelihood and having a social role that structures life and may facilitate or inhibit self-fulfillment." O'Toole (1973) in the summary (p. XV) of the report of the Task Force on Work in America defines work broadly as providing identity, structuring life, making possible self-sufficiency and providing social life, but in the more detailed discussion treats these as "functions of work" (pp. 3-10) and defines work as "an activity that produces something of value for other people" (p. 3), a largely economic definition appearing in Table 1, page 2d, in this paper. Some are specific, for work is sometimes treated by labor economists and career educators as a synonym for job. But as will be seen, this latter term has another distinctive, specific, and useful meaning.

Evaluative descriptions explicitly used by behavior scientists but less often by educators include work as a burden or a curse or, antonymously, as a social obligation. Both groups include writers, especially career educators, who view it, some as actually, others as ideally, a major means of self-fulfillment. None now regard it, as did Calvin and Luther, as the means of salvation from sin. Such meanings occur most often in historical, philosophical, or religious works, and only occasionally and slightly color publications of the type surveyed here. They now serve as nuances of personal meaning rather than as definitions.

Of the thirty-five sources, four view work as primarily productive employment, fourteen as a social role which provides a livelihood and structures life, three as synonymous with job, eleven use but do not define it, and three make no use of the term. Under such circumstances, communication must frequently fail.

Play.—"Play" is generally conceived of as the opposite of "work." The term is generally unused in the work-and-career literature; it is used but left undefined in the writing of one personality and social psychologist, and four school counseling specialists. Of the five major sources per field examined in preparing this essay, only one writer, a counseling psychologist, defined the term. In other sources not included in this sample one sociologist agrees with our one defining counseling psychologist in calling play "an activity for its own sake," while others and a psychologist define it as "activity without outcome," a concept of "play" which reflects an economic or production orientation rather than a psychological or self-expressive orientation. This orientation may account for its non-use by our career education sources.

The concept of "play," used by only six of our sample of writers and defined by only one, has clearly not entered into the thinking of most of those who have provided the basic stuff of career development.

Leisure.—"Leisure," like "play," is generally unmentioned in the sampled publications of labor economists and industrial psychologists, and when used by others usually denotes blocks of time used for "play" or for "avocations" rather than for "work." It is time free from required effort or for the free use of abilities and pursuit of interests. But these definitions are most often implicit rather than explicit. Only three of the industrial sociologists, two personality and social psychologists, one counseling psychologist, one school counselor, and one career education source find it necessary to deal with the construct.

The use of "leisure," although its importance is recognized by sixteen of our sources, gets minimal attention in the career

development literature and in the sampled career education sources. Eight of those using the term do not define it, and nineteen fail to use it. As with "play," there is little cause for confusion here because there is little to confuse.

Employment.—Employment is not a commonly used term in the publications sampled, being unused by from one to four writers in each specialty. It is used but left undefined by one or two writers on labor economics, industrial sociology, personality and social psychology and school counseling. It means "work" as effort for support to the one counseling psychologist defining it, engagement in production for pay to one economist, one sociologist, two personality and social psychologists, two school counselors and three career education sources who define it, and a means of earning a livelihood and having a social role to one of the economists and to one of the sociologists. But to the industrial psychologists who define it it means selection and placement.

"Employment" means "work" (with differing definitions of what that is) to twelve sources in this sample, "selection" and "placement" to two, is used but not defined by five writers, and not used by sixteen sources. This suggests that the topic, surely central to career development and career education, is poorly developed.

The Content of Work: From Specific to Global Constructs

Task.—A task is the smallest unit of work with which the writers surveyed are concerned, although if works on time and motion study had been included smaller units would have been found. The labor economists sampled do not use the term, three of the sociologists do not use it and the other two do not define it, and the personality and social and counseling psychologists, and the school counselors, tend not to use it. The career educators either fail to define the term or do not use it. But the industrial psychologists again differ from the rest of the sample, tending to define it as a unit of work performance.

Given the occupational focus of much of the writing in the disciplines sampled, and given the importance of the tasks performed in the description of occupations and jobs, it is interesting that only the industrial psychologists tend to define the term; six others in this sample of thirty-five use the term without definition, and the great majority, twenty-three, make no use of the construct.

Position.—The term "position" is not used by the labor economists surveyed, and it is unused or undefined by all but one

industrial sociologist, and surprisingly, by all the sampled industrial psychologists and career educators. It is defined by the two defining personality and social psychologists as the location of a person or set of persons in a network of social relationships, and defined as a set of tasks performed by one person by one industrial sociologist and by the three counseling psychologist users of the term. One school counselor also uses this last definition, one follows the personality and social psychologists in the broader sociological definition, and three do not use the term.

This term is thus used with some precision, but not uniformly, by only seven sources in this sample of thirty-five, used but not defined by another three, and not used by twenty-five.

Job.—All five labor economists used the term "job," but three do so without definition and two call it a continuous period of paid employment with one employer or in self-employment. Four industrial sociologists do not define the term in using it, while one treats it as a synonym for occupation; two personality and social psychologists do not use it, while one defines it as a group of similar positions in one organization (following Shartle, 1946), one equates it with occupation, and one uses but does not define the term; one industrial psychologist uses but does not define it, one follows Shartle, and three define it almost as Shartle classically defines the term "position" by calling it a group of similar work tasks to achieve an essential and enduring purpose in an organization. Three of the counseling psychologists also follow Shartle in calling a job a group of similar positions in one organization, one uses the term without definition, and one does not use it; two of the school guidance specialists use the term without definition, two do not use it, and one agrees with three of the industrial psychologists in the "group of tasks" definition. Career education sources tend not to use the term or not to define it, while in one it is paid employment and in one a place and type of employment.

The presumably simple and everyday term "job," thus has five differing meanings to the fifteen behavior scientists and educators defining it in this sample of thirty-five, is used but not defined and therefore without precision by thirteen, and not used by another seven. This simple and basic term is a prime example of the confusion that exists both within and between specialties concerned with the same subject matter. "The behavior of people at work."

Occupation.—All of the five labor economists use the word "occupation," two without definitions and three to denote a type of work activity in which similar tasks constitute similar jobs in various establishments and have a market value. One of the

industrial sociologists does not use the term, three use but do not define it, and the one who defines it views it as work done by adults on a regular, usually paid, basis (implying but not stating that adolescents may have jobs but not occupations no matter how regularly they work). The personality and social psychologists sampled tend not to use or to define the term, but one agrees with the three defining labor economists and one calls it "a social role resulting from the diversification of work," thereby no doubt unintentionally leaving room to include leisure pursuits as occupations. Surprisingly, none of the industrial psychologists use the term, apparently being so job- and task-oriented ("job oriented" often defined implicitly as "positions") that they do not need it. Four counseling psychologists use Shartle's definition, agreeing with the three labor economists who define the word, and one of the five fails to define it. Two school counselors and career education sources also follow Shartle, while their fellow-specialists do not define or do not use the term.

Even in the use of this key term there is lack of clarity in the communications of the majority of the writers sampled in the field of work and careers. Among those who define the term, seventeen of the thirty-five sources use compatible definitions, but eleven do not define the term and ten do not use it.

Vocation.—Two of the labor economists define the word "vocation" as an occupation with a sense of commitment but three do not use the term. No use is made of the term by the industrial sociologists, the personality and social psychologists, most of the industrial psychologists, or most career education sources. To three of the counseling psychologists, as to the two defining economists in this sample, the term means "an occupation to which a person feels committed," but two use the word without definition. Two of the school counseling writers do not use the term, two do not define it, and one equates it with occupation.

If there is any agreement among specialists on this term, it appears to be in the prevailing disuse by the majority of twenty-three out of thirty-five.

Avocation.—The term "avocation" is not often used in the literature surveyed, most students of work and career having focused on work as livelihood. But a complete lexicon of work and career should include it, if the various way in which aptitudes and interests find manifestation in the course of life (a career) are to be dealt with. Only two of the thirty-five writers surveyed use it; they (a counseling psychologist and a school counselor) both define it as "leisure activity systematically pursued, providing outlets for abilities and interests." As is made clear later in this

paper, this is an important construct for career education in contemporary society.

Career.—The term "career" is not used by two of the labor economists, one of the industrial sociologists, one of the personality and social psychologists, and four of the industrial psychologists. It is used but not defined by one of the industrial sociologists, one of the personality and social psychologists, one of the counseling psychologists, three of the school counselors, and two of the career education sources. It is used to denote any sequency of jobs in the life of one person by one of the labor economists, one industrial sociologist, and one counseling psychologist. It is any recognizably patterned job sequence to one labor economist, one industrial sociologist, one personality and social psychologist, and one school counselor. One labor economist defines career rather similarly but with more attributed motivation as a sequence of experiences in the world of work, with objectives and consequences and with or without progression. One industrial sociologist, and one industrial psychologist define it as "a sequence of jobs constituting a career ladder up which advancement is possible," sometimes but not always a "profession," reflecting what some would call a middle class bias (Super, 1957). One of the personality and social psychologists defines a career as "an orderly sequence of statuses and functions (occupational, familial, and leisure) resulting from the pursuit of emergent values," and two counseling psychologists and one career educator use the somewhat similar but less psychological definition of "activities, occupational and others, constituting a life pattern." One personality and social psychologist views a "career" as an "occupation," and so do one counseling psychologist, one school counselor and two career education sources (and so, too, does the American Psychological Association's *Thesaurus*, 1974), following a widespread practice which disregards precise meanings.

Nineteen of our thirty-five sources define the term "career," giving it seven different meanings which range from "any sequence of positions held during the course of a lifetime," through "the orderly pattern of statuses and functions resulting from the pursuit (presumably successful) of emergent values," to "a ladder of progression in an occupation," and finally to simply, "an occupation with no concept of climbing a ladder implied." But sixteen of our sources either do not define the term (eight) or do not use it (another eight). It seems incredible that a major movement, supported by major expenditures of funds, could have been founded on a term which has so many different meanings and which was deliberately left undefined by the Commissioner of

Education who launched the career education movement. That this happened led, as one panel of behavior science and education specialists pointed out (Brickell and Aslanian, 1973), in a chaotic situation characterized by haste to develop programs without defining terms and without building on relevant and available theory and research.

The Structure of Work Places

Two structural or organizational terms on which there is general agreement, although not all of the writers sampled use the terms, are also important in the literature on work and careers. No tabulations were made, some consensus being clear.

Organization.—This term is generally used in the career development literature to denote an institution, company, or other entity employing people in producing or distributing goods and services, although there are also leisure, familial, and other organizations which do not provide paid employment or do not produce goods and services.

Industry.—The term "industry" may be used to denote producing, as contrasted with distributing and serving organizations, but it is also used to denote a branch of any producing, distributing, or service art or trade, and to denote a group of similar productive, distributive or service organizations.

A Glossary for Career Education

As Seen in the Sample Sources

Several efforts to provide definitions needed by career education have been found in the pre-1973 literature, but none of them have been sufficiently comprehensive or, if comprehensive, they have not dealt in detail with the terms and constructs of work and career, the central constructs which are the subject of this lexicographical part of this essay. In the former category are the book by Hoyt, Evans, Mackin, and Mengum (1972), and the essay by this writer (in Brickell and Aslanian, 1973). In the latter category are the American Institute for Research's book on curriculum design by Dunn, Steel, Melnotte, Gross, Kroll, and Murphy (1973), the handbook on evaluation prepared for the Office of Education (OE) by Development Associates (1974), and the taxonomy prepared for OE by Brickell, Aslanian, Grossman, Spak, Callaway, and Smith (1974).

Hoyt and Evans both define the term "career education." Hoyt in the first edition seems to imply that a career is an *occupational career*, for it aims "at helping all individuals to become familiar with the values of a work-oriented society . . . in such a way that work becomes possible, meaningful, and satisfying to each individual" (p. 1) although, as will be seen, he broadened his definition in 1975. Evans states that it is a *work career* consisting of unpaid as well as paid employment and of a succession of work activities during the course of life. They both object to the current tendency of educators to substitute the word "career" for the term "vocation," meaning *life-work* rather than a *life of work*. Nevertheless they do, as does most of the literature of career education, use the term "career" throughout their text as a synonym for occupation. Like other career educators they use the word "occupation" very rarely and the term "job" only a little more often, and define neither. The focus is on *career as occupation* and on *work as a way of life* : "The basic goal of career education is the restoration of various forms of the work ethic. . ." (p. 67). Leisure is referred to, but not dealt with.

In his critical essay on the research base of the Comprehensive Career Education Model's (CCEM) developmental program goals (Center for Vocational and Technical Education, 1972), this writer deals (in Brickell and Aslanian, 1973) only with the concept of "career," pointing out that the CCEM's Goals use it as a synonym for "occupation," in the tradition of vocational education, neglecting other relevant constructs.

In the American Institute for Research (AIR) catalogue of objectives Dunn and associates define "career education" in a way which clearly implies that "a career is multifaceted, consisting of occupational, social, leisure, and interpersonal roles." The term "career" is however not defined, and in context appears to be synonymous with "occupation." Occupations are grouped in "career clusters," the term "career" is used when occupations are clustered and goals and choices are to be made, and "occupation" is used when information is being disseminated or acquired. "Occupations" are clearly, in this treatment, "similar jobs in various settings;" the terms "jobs and employment" denote "job opportunities." "Leisure" is given a place in the conceptual scheme, defined as both "rest" and as "outlet for personal development and avocations," and is reported to be a frequent objective of career education programs although less stressed than "jobs" and "employment." This curriculum design book a survey-based catalogue of career education objectives, goes into none of the objectives in depth; it does not define terms except as the

objectives classified under them do this. What emerges is, again, a concentration on occupations and on employment opportunities.

The evaluation *Handbook* also notes the prevailing lack of definitions and relies on an analysis of the career development and career education literature, legislation concerning career education, programs in effect, and the opinions of those involved in career education. From these sources it derives thirty-three objectives which fall into nine categories. Terms are not defined, but "work" is the commonly used term, and clearly denotes both "occupations" and "jobs," paid and unpaid. "Vocation" appears to mean "occupation." The word "career" is used only in connection with educational and occupational decision-making and is not defined, and leisure is not referred to as such although unpaid work is. As in the Hoyt and associates text, the CCEM goals, and the AIR catalogue, this evaluation handbook focuses almost exclusively on the occupational aspects of careers, and then almost exclusively on initial occupational choice. This happens despite Evans' broader definition in the Hoyt and associates text, and despite the broader focus in the career development literature as represented by the work of Crites (1968), Osipow (1968), Super (1957), Super, Starishevsky, Matlin, and Jordaan (1963), Super and Bohn (1970), and Tiedeman and O'Hara (1963).

The Taxonomy appears, like the pre-1975 other Office of Education-contracted sources, to have neglected basic career development concepts and to have limited itself to the objectives and practices of the existing atheoretical career education programs. This is an understandable but in this instance inadequate basis for the development of a taxonomy. It is a classification of what *is*, rather than of what *might be* or *what is needed*; it is appropriate as a method for zoology, but not as a method for education. The result of this dust-bowl empiricism is dust-bowl sterility. There is no attempt to classify the content of career education in terms of the basic concepts of this lexicon, despite the statement (p. i) that "The taxonomy is designed to characterize, summarize, and generalize about the career education movement after half a decade of energetic activity... The taxonomy contains the harvest of the major ideas and activities that constitute the practice of career education in elementary and secondary school today." Undefined are such terms as "career," "occupation," "job," "work," and "leisure," although the frequency with which career education objectives include each of these is surveyed; no data were collected, and none were analyzed, because none were requested in the interview schedule, to indicate the meanings of these terms as used by the interviewers and the respondents. One who has

examined career education materials may infer, correctly (Super, in Brickell and Asianian, 1973), that career education has dealt with occupations and with the employment opportunities but not with careers, not with avocations or other outlets for aptitudes and interests. When practices are inadequate, surveys of practices are poor guides. Nothing in this taxonomy of objectives provides for the improvement of conceptualizations of career education.

As Seen in Official NIE-OE Publications Since 1973 and 1975

As indicated on page 3, there have been important changes in Division of Education approaches to career education. These followed the creation of the National Institute of Education (NIE) and the work of its Career Education Task Force under Corinne Rieder and the creation of the Office of Career Education in the Office of Education (OE) under the leadership of Kenneth Hoyt.

NIE.—In its preliminary draft plan for career education (Career Education Task Force, 1973) and its Program Plan for 1975 (National Institute of Education, 1974), the National Institute of Education defines "career" as "an individual's entire or principal work that extends over a lifetime and that provides an accustomed means of livelihood. The term implies productive interaction with the economic sector in a series of jobs that collectively constitute a career." This definition is essentially that first adopted in the glossary of the Career Pattern Study (Super *et al.*, 1957): "The sequence of occupations, jobs, positions, as all of these are defined by Shartle (and cited later in that glossary) throughout a person's working life." In the NIE statements "work" is defined only by implication, through reference to the means of livelihood and to the economic sector, as paid employment. The NIE definitions were helped by position papers prepared by outside contractors, one of which pointed out (Raizen, in CE Task Force, 1973, p. 19) that there is "little agreement in the career education literature as to how career education should be defined." Raizen cites the three objectives, in a conceptual analysis of "career education" as being to:

"1. Reduce unemployment. . .

"2. Reduce low income employment. . .

"3. Reduce alienation in employment. . . ."

In the Program Plan (National Institute of Education, 1975, pp. 3, 9) NIE restates, rather more elaborately, these same objectives. In none of these documents are the concepts of "leisure" and "play" dealt with: all is paid-work and economic-sector oriented. But the concept of a "career" as "a life-long sequence of positions and occupations" is clearly stated and used.

OE.—In 1974 Kenneth Hoyt prepared and sought criticism for a series of papers on career education, bringing the results together in an official OE policy paper (Hoyt, 1975) which the U.S. Commissioner of Education, T. H. Bell, introduced as the Office's "first comprehensive conceptual statement on career education" - 4 years after an earlier Commissioner launched the massive movement. Hoyt here defines "work" as "conscious effort, other than that involved in activities whose primary purpose is either coping or relaxation, aimed at producing benefits for oneself and/or for oneself and others" (p. 3), and proceeds to specify that this definition "includes both paid and unpaid work" and "emphasizes the goal of education as *preparation for work*", reaching "beyond (economic man) to the broader aspects of productivity in one's total life style—including leisure time."

"Career" is defined as "the totality of work one does in his or her lifetime," and "career education" as "the totality of experiences through which one learns about and prepares to engage in work as part of his or her way of living." "Career" is further defined (p. 4) as "a developmental concept beginning in the very early years and continuing well into the retirement years." Included in these concepts of work and career are a "prime emphasis on paid employment," with recognition of the roles of learners, volunteer workers, fulltime homemakers (but not, perhaps through oversight, part-time homemakers such as working men and women), and leisure and recreation-related work activities. Twenty-five career education assumptions are listed, 11 of which are specifically occupational, the other 14 of which involve work generally in the broad sense of directed effort in roles which include more than paid employment or other than paid employment.

Trends in NIE and OE.—It seems clear that these two education units of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have been moving, during the nearly 5 years of the career education movement, from the non-definition of "careers" and of "career education" which led the originally-dominant vocational educators to operationally define "careers" as "occupations" (OE, 1971-74), to a life-span definition of "careers" as "sequences of pre-occupational, occupational, and post-occupational positions favored by many contemporary vocational psychologists" (NIE, 1973-74), to another life-span definition favored by some vocational psychologists (OE, 1975), which includes unpaid as well as paid work roles, "work" being defined as "the expenditure of effort for the attainment of some objective which may or may not be economic." In this trend NIE has first been broader in its interpretation than OE, and OE broader than NIE: it is important to note these changing and

broadening definitions and to take them into account in seeking to establish a glossary for career education. Definitions and concepts need to evolve with society, but they should not change from one writer or administrator to another.

A Proposed Glossary

In view of the need for terms which have the same meaning for all those who act, read, and write in a knowledge-field, the following glossary of career development terms essential to career education is proposed. Without agreement on such terms, with terms which have multiple meanings or to which individual writers attach idiosyncratic and at times esoteric meanings, career education, like labor economics, industrial sociology and anthropology, psychology, and school counseling will continue their current confusion of myopic misunderstanding. *Table 1* has made it clear that the definitions proposed will not appeal to everyone. The crucial question, however, is not one of personal appeal but of understanding and of being understood.

Some of the terms in the Glossary have broader meanings when used by some writers; others use them with narrower meanings. In the literature of general sociology, for example, the term "position" refers to the place occupied in any social system or institution such as the family (e.g., father, mother, first-born child, etc.), the church (e.g., senior minister, acolyte, deacon, member, etc.), and the community (e.g., mayor, controller, voter, community chest chairman, etc.). It would be more precise, in the literature of labor economics, industrial sociology, career education, and the other fields sampled here, to refer to "occupational position," but it has appeared legitimate to most writers to depend upon the context to convey the fact that it is occupational, not, for example, family, position which is denoted. On the other hand, the legitimately narrow and broad definitions of career, ranging from "sequences of occupational positions," through "sequence of pre-occupational, occupational, and post-occupational positions, together with complementary avocational, familial, and civic roles (positions)," to "sequence of all positions occupied from womb to tomb," suggest the desirability, even in the literature of the pertinent specialities, of qualifying this term by referring to the *occupational career, occupationally-related career, homemaking career, civic career,* and *life career,* etc., whichever is intended.

Table 2 provides a glossary of career development terms deemed essential to career education. Although the writer must accept sole responsibility for them, the choice of terms and the definitions have,

Table 2

A Career Development Glossary for Career Education

Time and Effort

Work	The systematic pursuit of an objective valued by oneself (even if only for survival) and desired by others; directed and consecutive, it requires the expenditure of effort. It may be compensated (paid work) or uncompensated (volunteer work or an avocation). The objective may be intrinsic enjoyment of the work itself, the structure given to life by the work role, the economic support which work makes possible, or the type of leisure which it facilitates.
Labor	Productive work for survival or support, requiring physical or mental effort.
Employment	Time spent in paid work or in indirectly paid work such as homemaking.
Leisure	Time free of required paid or unpaid work, in rest, play, or avocations.
Play	Activity which is primarily recreational and relaxing; engaged in for its own sake; it may be unsystematic or systematic, without objective or with an objective which is of temporary and personal consequence; it may involve the expenditure of effort, but that effort is voluntary and easily avoided by the player.

Content

Task	A performance required at work or in play.
Position	A group of tasks to be performed by one person; in industry, performed for pay. Positions exist whether vacant or occupied; they are task- and outcome, not person, defined.
Role	A set of behaviors associated with a position. The *role concepts* of persons occupying positions may be so called; those of persons surrounding the position *role expectations.*
Job	A group of similar, paid, positions requiring some similar attributes in a single organization. Jobs are task-, outcome-, and organization-centered.
Occupation	A group of similar jobs found in various organizations. Occupations are task-, economy-, and society-oriented.
Vocation	An occupation with commitment, distinguished primarily by its psychological as contrasted with its economic meaning; ego-involving, meaningful to the individual as an activity, not solely for its productive, distributive, or service outcome and its economic rewards, although these too are valued. Vocations are task-, outcome-, and person-centered.
Avocation	An activity pursued systematically and consecutively for its own sake with an objective other than monetary gain, although it may incidentally result in gain. Avocations are task-, outcome-, and person-centered.
Career	The sequence of major positions occupied by a person throughout his preoccupational, occupational, and postoccupational life; includes work-related roles such as those of student, employee, and pensioner, together with complementary avocational, familial, and civic roles. Careers exist only as people pursue them; they are person-centered.

Structure

Organization	A specific institution, company, or other independent or autonomous entity producing or distributing goods or services.
Industry	A branch of an art or trade which employs people to produce or distribute goods or to provide services; a group of similar organizations.

in earlier drafts, been reviewed by members of a small group of counseling and organizational psychologists who are active in career development theory and research (the Career Development Mobile Seminar: Drs. John O. Crites, William C. Bingham, Carol Turner, JoAnn Harris Bowlsbey, Douglas T. Hall, Martin Hamburger, Thomas L. Hilton, John L. Holland, Jean Pierre Jordaan, Martin Katz, Mary Sue Richardson, Benjamin Schneider, Donald E. Super, David V. Tiedeman, and Bert W. Westbrook).

Importance: A Set and Sub-sets of Modifier Constructs

Treatises and studies of the *importance* of work, occupations, and careers in the lives of people, like those dealing with the nature of work and careers, use a confusing variety of terms. An analysis of the literature would, again, show that a variety of meanings are ascribed to a single term, compounding the confusion. In view of the demonstrated diversity in the analysis of the basic terms no systematic lexicographical analysis has been done for the importance of terms. Instead, the conclusion drawn from several years of research and theorizing on this topic is simply stated: Commitment, engagement, identification, importance, involvement, orientation, participation, and salience have been used sometimes as synonyms, sometimes as separate constructs with specific and useful meanings. Notes on the meanings of these terms were organized and, with the other set of terms, discussed with specialists in career and organizational development. Table 3 presents the resulting glossary.

Table 3

A Glossary of the Importance of Work

Salience–Importance or prominence, as shown by the attitudes, knowledge, or behavior of individuals and groups; includes two major sub-sets of terms.

1. *Commitment*–Affective attachment, dedication.
   a. *Identification*–Affective attachment providing a sense of identity.
   b. *Involvement*–Affective attachment with behavioral participation through use of time and effort.
2. *Orientation*–Knowledge and understanding.
   a. *Participation*–Use of time and effort in action with no implication of orientation.
   b. *Engagement*–Participation with orientation.

In the above schema, the term "salience" is used for the all-inclusive, attitudinal, behavioral and cognitive constructs. Commitment and its subset is affective in identification and both affective and behavioral in involvement. Orientation is more cognitive, but knowledge may be minimal or considerable in participation

but is significant in engagement. The two subsets can be combined to denote affective, cognitive, and behavioral salience with the term "committed engagement."

A Theoretical Basis for Career Education

As its confused terminology suggests, career education needs a sound theoretical basis. This is available in career development theory (Crites, 1969; Jordaan, in Herr *et al.*, 1974; Osipow, 1968; Super, 1957; Super and Bohn, 1970). This is essentially a theory of life stages and developmental tasks, of career patterns, and of individual differences. These need to be considered before one can consider what to expect of career education.

Life Stages and Developmental Tasks

The stages of a career are essentially those of development over the life span. These are (Super, 1957) the Growth, Exploratory, Establishment, Maintenance, and Decline Stages. Each stage is characterized by the special importance of certain social expectations. For example, during the Exploratory Stage youths are expected to formulate occupational choices and during the Establishment Stage adults are expected to implement them and make places for themselves at work, in a home, and in a community. If a given task is well-handled, coping with the next task is facilitated.

The *Growth Stage* is one of interaction between the child and the home, neighborhood, and school environment, resulting in the active development of some abilities, interests and values, and in the neglect and atrophy of other potentials which, given a certain glandular and neural make-up, might have become important. Relationships with people help or hinder development along certain lines; experiences with objects and then with ideas facilitate or discourage development along others. Boys have learned, in our culture, that they should be active and bold; girls have learned that they should be passive and sweet; and thus many boys develop mechanical aptitude, while girls tend to read and dance better than boys. Parents, teachers, and other adults provide role models. Concepts of self as boy or girl, as mechanic or as potential ballet dancer, emerge and are fostered or discouraged. Occupational preferences in this stage tend to reflect emotional needs more than aptitude or genuine interest, and they tend either to be fixated or to change fairly often.

The *Exploratory Stage* begins with adolescence, although exploration itself begins in infancy and continues throughout life as changing people and situations require reconnoitering.

Exploration involves trying out a variety of activities, roles, and situations. It may not be planned or goal-directed, but it may be engaged in specificity in order to find out more about aptitude for or interest in an occupation, a course of study, or about career opportunities. It may be tentative at first, with increasing commitment. Jordaan (in Super *et al.*, 1963) and Super (1963) have described vocational exploratory behavior in some detail, and Pritchard (1962), Rusalem (1954), Samler (in Borow, ed., 1964), Prediger (in Herr, ed., 1974) and Berglund (in Herr, ed., 1974) have applied theory to practice. Poor exploration may be more floundering, or even drifting, rather than systematic trial. But mere exploration results in the further development of abilities and interests, it confirms or contradicts the suitability of role models, of self concepts, and arenas of activity and it aids in their clarification and it eventually makes possible their translation into occupational preferences and their implimentation in paid and unpaid employment.

The *Establishment Stage* usually begins in the mid-twenties, although some people drift, flounder, or explore for as many as 10 years longer and some never achieve stable careers. With greater maturity, responsibilities, and experience men in their late twenties tend to find suitable paid employment or to compromise and settle for the best they can find; women of this age tend to devote full-time to homemaking, although some continue with double-track careers and many, often without having planned it, resume paid employment after a few years away from the labor market. From age 25 to age 45 the average American man changes jobs several times; stability is relative. Although this life stage begins several years after leaving school, it should be of vital concern to career education as it is the stage into which school and college lead. How schools prepare for it has a great deal to do with how much drifting, floundering, and stagnating there is during the later school and early work years (Super, Kowalski, and Gotkin, 1967).

The *Maintenance Stage* begins for most people at about age 45, although for many women the thirties involve re-Exploration and a second Establishment Stage. Having settled into an occupation and often into a particular job, the individual is concerned with holding his own against younger people, keeping up with new developments, forging ahead by breaking new ground in his present or in some related field, or getting reestablished in the labor force. These concerns manifest themselves not only in work, but in other life arenas. It can be a period of fruition or of frustration, depending

upon economic conditions and upon how well the developmental tasks of the earlier life stages have been handled (O'Toole, *et al.*, 1973). The Maintenance Stage may not seem to be important to a school's career education program, but some understanding of how what happens in the earlier stages of a career effects what happens in later years can be assumed to be important to getting and keeping control of a career.

The *Decline Stage* is one of changing and declining involvement in life in general and in occupations in particular. Although in some instances activity continues until death in the habitual roles, at the usual pace, and on the usual schedule, for most people there is a process of changing types of activities, pace of work, and hours or days of work. Those whose preretirement lives have involved occupational or avocational activities that are carried over into retirement, and thus preserve continuity of roles and of life, are happiest in retirement (Steer, 1970). If this finding were somehow put to use in career education, it could result in the more satisfying pursuit of life roles throughout the life cycle.

Positions, Roles, and Tasks.—As people go through each life stage, they are expected to occupy a number of different positions. Some positions are occupied in sequence, some alternately, some more or less simultaneously. Thus the positions of student, worker, and pensioner are generally occupied in sequence, but they may be occupied simultaneously.

There are at least ten major types of roles. In the approximate order in which these roles are dominant, they are those of:

1. Child
2. Student
3. Worker
4. Spouse
5. Parent
6. Homemaker
7. Citizen
8. "Leisurite"
9. Annuitant
10. Patient

The simultaneous and sequential nature of these roles, together with waxing and waning during the course of the life cycle, can be depicted as a rainbow in which the bands of color vary in width at any one cross-section of the arc, and each individual's arc varies in width as it goes from birth at the left to death at the right with the rainbow. (Here the rainbow simile is inadequate and needs modification). Near the horizon representing birth, for example, there is just *one* band, one role, that of child. At the other end, if life continues into the eighties or nineties, there is often again just *one* band or role, that of patient in a comprehensive-care nursing home. But at the peak of the career and of the modified rainbow representing it

there may be *as many as eight major bands in a wide arc,* for one person may play, more or less simultaneously, the roles of child to his aging parents, student in continuing education, worker in an occupation, spouse, parent, homemaker, citizen, and pursuer of leisure.

Occupying any position means that one assumes and is given a role, expected to perform certain functions and to act in certain ways. Occupying an executive position imposes the role of manager of the work of others and of performer of certain higher-level tasks, and in some corporations it means wearing conservative clothes and having well groomed hair. Occupying a university professorship requires that one carry on research and write books and tell popular writers what they want to know about one's subject, but it permits one to wear tweeds, slacks, turtleneck sweaters, and loafers in the classroom and on lecture platforms.

At lower occupational levels also roles are prescribed rather rigidly in some occupations, more flexibly in others, for example, role-rigidity is typical of the mass-production assembly jobs which cause so much worker discontent, and role-flexibility is typical of skilled gardeners whose control over work pace and schedule results in greater satisfaction. Roles shape people, and people shape roles in varying degrees, just as some people choose roles (e.g., many lawyers) and others are cast in them (e.g., many who clerk in family stores).

Theaters in Which Roles are Played.—Each type of role has a type of theater in which it is typically but not uniquely played. A child is still a child in grade school, with a teacher *in loco parentis,* and a mother is still a mother while at work if she has an emergency at home. The major theaters in which roles are played are:

1. The Home
2. The Community
3. The School
4. The workplace
5. The Retirement Community or Home

These theaters can of course be broken down into finer categories, the home having its kitchen, playroom, study, etc., and the community its service, recreational, welfare, health, and other facilities or little theaters.

Life Space.—The varying multiple roles or bands of the life cycle's arc, and the number of theaters in which roles are played, depict the notions of *life space* and of *life style.* The idea of life styles is made concrete by the use made by the individual of the different types of theaters or life space, the number of roles that he plays, and the manner in which he plays them.

A career is not necessarily the continuous and progressive pursuit of one occupation. This middle-class definition is based on a bias in favor of climbing and of occupations involving ladders that take one ever higher. Some occupations are thus viewed as worthy of long-term engagement as careers because they provide opportunity for advancement. This is one of the important differences between machinists (who may advance to tool-and-die making and to being millwrights) and automobile assembly-line work.

A better psychological and sociological definition of a career is that of the sequence of positions occupied by a person during the course of a working and work-related life. This takes into account the facts that most people change occupations several times during their careers, and that for many people occupational mobility is horizontal rather than vertical.

Careers have been found to include four patterns for men and seven for women (Super, 1957). These are, for men, the *conventional* (some change, followed by stability), the *stable* (entry into an occupation after finishing training and remaining in it), the *unstable* (often called *serial*, alternating periods which may be long and infrequent, of stability and of change), and the *multiple-trial* (frequent change and short periods in any one occupation). For women, the *conventional* pattern involves homemaking after a period of paid work, the *stable* pattern may involve either homemaking instead of paid work or it may mean paid work in only one occupation, and there are also the *interrupted* pattern (paid work, then homemaking, and again paid work) and the *double-track* career pattern (the simultaneous paid work and homemaking that is increasingly common today).

Continuous careers (the conventional and stable) are most common in the skilled, clerical, executive, and professional fields, or among the middle class (Miller and Form, 1951); the *discontinuous* (unstable, multiple-trial and interrupted) are common among men and women at the lower socioeconomic levels, in the unskilled, semi-skilled, and to a lesser degree clerical and sales fields.

It is the individual who supplies the continuity in the career, even when the sequence of occupations is discontinuous, for the career belongs to the person, not to the occupation. Of course, a person may make a career of an *occupation*. Thus, most people in well-paid, prestigious, and secure occupations such as medicine, especially those which require considerable involvement of affect, time and effort, do pursue a career in those occupations in which the investment is made. But many people make a career of an *industry*, changing

occupations as they move up a ladder in banking, in steel, in transportation, or in education (for example, moving from teacher to counselor to principal to director of school finance to superintendent). Many others make a career, by design or otherwise, of changing occupations and industries as economic or climatic conditions make this seem desirable. An example is the deck hand on the warm-weather ore ships of the Great Lakes who works in an Ohio tire factory some winters or in a Florida lunch counter during other winters. The semiskilled workers who change from one job to another as production workers are needed or laid off, or as wages in or travel to one plant or industry appear better than in another, constitute a third important group of people whose working careers are discontinuous occupationally but continuous in that the career is, in fact, a sequence of jobs, a work history, the course of a person's life.

Career education and guidance have typically been based on the assumption that most people pursue continuous, stable or conventional, careers. That this is not true of the majority of our population means that we have failed to meet the needs of the large numbers who pursue unstable, multiple-trial, and interrupted careers. Herein lies a fundamental and generally unasked (Super, 1957) question for counselors and career educators: What should education and guidance for discontinuity, for change both expected and unexpected, seek to accomplish, and of what should they consist?

Career Education in an Industrial or Postindustrial Society

Whether or not ours is to be called an industrial or a postindustrial society, a working or a leisure society, is still an open question. Answering it is perhaps less important than is understanding the nature of the society in which we now live and into which our young people move as they leave school or college and seek places in the labor force, or in what we need to recognize as the leisure force, made up of those who reject or are rejected by the work system and are supported by it. Its education-relevant characteristics command the attention of career education.

Advanced Industrialization

The North American economy is in an advanced state of industrialization. Unskilled and semiskilled occupations have been on the decline as mechanization and automation have taken over the repetitive and strictly manual functions of workers in agriculture, in

industry, and in business. This replacement of men and women by machines is observable not only in the cottonfields and the wheatfields, in the factories and in airplanes, but in the offices, the shops, and the restaurants. This tendency to have machines rather than people run machines, this automation or cybernation, has had impact not only on production and transportation, but also on record-keeping and distributing work in financial institutions and food service. One may not like the vending machines which have transformed the original Automats into real automats and put them in every town and on every campus, but these food-serving machines stay in business and make money for their owners and concessionnaires. One may not like the impersonality of large chain banks, in which the teller one deals with today is not the teller one saw last week, but one is glad to make use of the automatic teller which, accessible from the sidewalk, can cash a check at any time of the day or night in the same way that it did last week and the week before. Cybernation, the control of machines by machines, has displaced the typically interchangeable unskilled and semiskilled workers regardless of the color of their collars. It is largely the skilled, and especially the highly skilled, who are needed.

Will they continue to be needed, will ours indeed in due course become a postindustrial society, a fully cybernetic economy in which most people are supported in leisure by an automated system of production, distribution, recordkeeping, and even services? The evolutionary process has not progressed far enough for anyone to be able to answer that question with certainty.

The Establishment and the System

But there are some signs in the operation of the System which suggest answers. Much skilled work can already be taken over by automated machinery which uses new materials better adapted to automation than the traditional materials. Thus bricks and stones, stonecutting and bricklaying, are being replaced by synthetic materials and prefabrication, and the construction industry is becoming one of large assembly machines and a few skilled mechanics and electricians. Now only the luxury trade can afford bricks and mortar, and only a few archaic if not obsolescent craftsmen continue to cut stones and to lay stones and bricks, skilled workers well supported by those who can afford to support them. Thus, too, the making of business and weather forecasts is being done by computers which have been programmed to handle all the data used by accountants and economists, or by meterologists and climatologists, in the ways used by these specialists in their work.

The trick is in the developing of the data bases to be used, and in devising and debugging the processes for using the data. Thus, too, the making of medical and psychological diagnoses and predictions is becoming a function which computers can be made to perform at least as well as the best human diagnostician.

Guidance systems, too, have been computerized (Super, ed., 1970). The existing computer-assisted test interpretation and counseling systems organize and interpret more data for counselors and students, more rapidly, and with less chance of errors than can be done by an overworked counselor. They can thus free counselors from the more routine aspects of their work so that they may concentrate on that which is most demanding: Counseling.

The Need for People.—A Cassandra might, on the basis of evidence of the capacity of computers to perform important higher level functions, predict that a postindustrial society will have no need even for highly skilled professional and executive workers. Such a society might function very well with only a few policy makers and a few programmers to make modifications occasionally as policies change. This reference to a Cassandra, a confirmed pessimist, reveals a 19th-century-based belief supported by 20th century research (Vroom, 1964) that work roles are important and that during the transition period many people will be lost, emotionally, without them. But perhaps such a prediction should have been attributed to an optimist, making the assumption that despite the Protestant ethic, work is not the only road to salvation, that despite the findings of 20th century vocational and social psychology (Dunnette, 1973; Friedman and Havighurst, 1954; Roe, 1956) other roles exist which can take their place in structuring daily living, in making a person feel needed, and in permitting a sense of mastery of the environment.

At this stage one cannot make such a prediction. The work of the school counselor provides an example. One can assume that computer systems will be perfected beyond their present stage. One can assume, furthermore, that with large-scale production these systems will become so economical that each school will have a good supply of terminals, that systems will be kept economically supplied with up-to-date data bases, that large computers will be used on a time-sharing basis, and that they will be economically used for multiple purposes in education and administration. Students using such systems get good information about schools, colleges, apprenticeships, occupations, and employment opportunities from the computer. Furthermore, the computer systems relate these data to data about the student-users, their aptitudes, interests, school achievements, extra-curricular activities, work experience, and

aspirations. They help students to see the implications of one set of data for another. Is that enough?

A moment's thought shows that it is not. Three things are lacking: 1) Help in dealing with the feelings aroused by the confrontation of facts and of their implications for action, 2) help in implementing the decisions reached by making appropriate plans and taking necessary steps, and 3) help in evaluating the outcomes of actions taken and identifying new issues.

It should be recognized that computers can, at least to some degree, be programmed to perform these functions. Take the first: The student can be asked, in the dialogue with the computer, how he feels about a fact or an interpretation of facts; he can respond by telling the computer (whether in multiple-choice or in natural English conversation) how he feels; and the computer can be programmed to respond, non-directively by reflecting the feeling, or directively with a suggestion or an interpretation. But such programming is extremely time-consuming and therefore costly, and until there is evidence to the contrary (an unlikely development) we can assume that expressing feeling to a machine and having it reflected, clarified, or interpreted by a machine is as unsatisfying as kicking a wastebasket in frustration rather than working directly on the cause of the frustration by having it out with the source of frustration. Automated psychotherapy could probably help some, but it would lack the warmth of a personal relationship, it could not convey the feeling of acceptance and of valuing.

Dealing with factual data is a different matter. Studies of computer-assisted counseling (Thompson *et al.*, 1970; Myers *et al.*, 1972) show that some students like the computer better than a counselor or other adult as a source of facts and of interpretations of facts, and none have resented its impersonality. Computers give straightforward answers to straightforward questions which they help people to formulate, they either know and tell or they don't know and frankly say so; they are free from ethnic and sex biases—all this, of course, assuming that those who plan and execute the programs are themselves able to formulate and answer questions well, and can keep bias out of their systems. It would not be legitimate, however, to generalize from these findings to systems dealing with emotional problems and designed to do psychotherapeutic counseling.

Some may be inclined to question this optimism concerning the impact of computers on the work of people in the higher-level occupations, in the professions and in top and middle management occupations. It may therefore be relevant to remember that this is not the first time that a technological revolution has affected a profession. There was one 2,000 years ago when the Romans

conquered Britain, bringing with them a system for storing and retrieving information which was radically new to the Celtic Druids who were then the learned men in Britain. At that time information storage was achieved by rote memory. Priests, wise men in training, devoted much of their time to learning by heart the laws of the land and the genealogies that determined who ruled septs, clans, and kingdoms. When justice needed to be done, when inheritances and successions needed to be decided, the retrieval system was put in operation by calling in the wise men and asking them to recall the needed information. Accuracy was sought by consulting more than one learned man.

A similar system prevailed in preliterate Israel, and the data were later stored in the Old Testament. There the technological transition was apparently gradual, as writing developed. But when the Romans suddenly introduced books into Britain, books in which the wisdom of man was fully and permanently recorded, the threat of technological unemployment must have seemed great to the Druids. They must have wanted to shatter the tablets or to burn the parchment on which knowledge was stored, for now any reader could ascertain the laws of the land and verify the lines of inheritance simply by consulting the record. But scholarship did not disappear with the introduction of the technology of storing and retrieving information in books and libraries, learned men did not cease to have a function. Instead, the demand for learning increased, and those who became scholars found their work more rewarding. Freed from rote-memory-work to think about existing knowledge and to develop new knowledge, they and the libraries they accumulated became centers of learning. The knowledge revolution has been proceeding at an ever accelerating rate ever since. Thus it seems likely that counselors will become free to counsel and to improve counseling methods, physicians will have time to serve patients and to develop new knowledge of disease and of its control, and managers will not only manage but will also add to the understanding of how to manage.

The Importance of Work

As our society becomes more and more a postindustrial or leisure society it may, then, be confronted with two extreme types of work contrasting with each other even more clearly than now. First, the very able, very much needed, categories of workers just discussed, whose occupations some (Havighurst, 1953) have called "ego-involving" and others (Super, 1957) "expressive," and secondly, those whose careers were described earlier, involving discontinuity, and the many others whose careers are characterized by continuous

monotony as they perform socially necessary but non-ego-involving work, occupations labelled "society-maintained" and "responsive" because the people pursuing them do so in response to social or economic pressures.

In *Work in America* the O'Toole Task Force (1973), a mixed commission of anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists, social workers, economists, and engineers (but no psychologists) examined the functions of work in contemporary America. Their summary merits digesting and quoting here:

> Work is central "in the lives of most adults," it contributes to identity and self-esteem", and it is useful "in bringing order and meaning into life." "Work offers economic self-sufficiency, status, family stability, and an opportunity to interact with others in one of the most basic activities of society. Consequently, if the opportunity to work is absent or if the nature of the work is dissatisfying (or worse), severe repercussions are likely to be experienced in other parts of the social system.
>
> "...significant numbers of American workers are dissatisfied with the quality of their working lives. Dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless tasks, offering little challenge or autonomy, are causing discontent among workers at all occupational levels. This is not so much because work itself has greatly changed; indeed, one of the main problems is that work has not changed fast enough to keep up with the rapid and widespread changes in worker attitudes, aspirations, and values. A general increase in their educational and economic status has placed many Americans in a position where having an interesting job is now as important as having a job that pays well...
>
> "...As a result, the productivity of the worker is low - as measured by absenteeism, turnover rates, wildcat strikes, sabotage, poor-quality products, and a reluctance by workers to commit themselves to their work tasks. Moreover, an increasing body of research indicates that, as work problems increase, there may be a consequent decline in physical and mental health, family stability, community participation and cohesiveness, and 'balanced' socio-political attitudes, while there is an increase in drug and alcohol addiction, aggression, and delinquency." (O'Toole *et al.*, pp. XV-XVII, 1973)

The O'Toole Task Force defined work in the body of its report (pp. 2-3) as "an activity that produces something of value for other people," a strictly economic definition which disregards the possible objectives of workers in engaging in production, omits subsistence farmers who produce only for themselves, and, perhaps because they

vary from worker to worker, denies the several important functions of work identified in the same report.

A more useful definition of work is that proposed in *Table 2*: "The systematic pursuit of an objective valued by oneself (even if only for survival) and desired by others . . . The objective may be intrinsic enjoyment of the work itself, the structure given to life by the work role, the economic support which work makes possible, or the type of leisure which it facilitates."

It is the varied ways in which the *content of work* can be viewed, and the various functions or *objectives* it may have, that led to the development of the definitions in *Tables 1* and *2*, discussed in the first part of this essay. These definitions provide the basis for a further logical and empirical analysis of the meanings of work.

Workers may be *task-committed*, that is, emotionally involved in the performance of the tasks in which they are engaged: Productivity itself is their goal. They may be *position-committed*, convinced of the importance or satisfactions of the positions which they occupy and not actively interested in changing. They may be *job-committed*, preferring the kind of positions they have in their organization to similar positions in other firms, but willing enough to move in the company. They may be *occupation-committed*, interested in the type of work they do, with a broader focus than on the position or the job. They may be *work-committed* in addition to or instead of being position-, job-, or occupation-committed, that is, they may be interested in working for the intrinsic interest in the work itself, for the family or self support, for the structure which it provides for their lives, or for the leisure that it makes possible. They may be *career-committed*, motivated to pursue over a long span of time their own development either in one occupation or in a series of occupations as interest and opportunities change.

The *career-committed* may have an *occupational*, *organizational*, or *industrial* focus, for some workers find their challenge in the content of the work, some in the opportunities provided by identification with an organization and are glad to change not only positions but jobs as the company needs change, and still others become interested in an industry and are willing to change occupations and organizations as new challenges emerge in that industry.

These differing types of commitment are not identical, but neither are they mutually exclusive and incompatible. Inventories have occasionally been designed to assess some one of these commitments, but they have not sought to be multidimensional and have often failed to differentiate position, occupation, organization,

etc. In current research the writer has worked with a multidimensional instrument, finding correlations ranging from -.34 between *career-commitment* and *commitment to work-as-means-to-leisure*, to .71 for that between *task-commitment* and *career-commitment*. If further refinement of this work salience inventory confirms the existence and the relative independence of these dimensions of the importance of work, it should become possible to establish more precisely the degree to which work has each kind of meaning to American workers.

The Alienated and Uncommitted.—In contrast with their very affirmative listing of the positive functions of work, the O'Toole Task Force has, we noted earlier, stressed the very negative actual meaning of work to large numbers of workers in contemporary America: ". . .Significant numbers of American workers are dissatisfied with the quality of their working lives. Dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless tasks, offering little challenge or autonomy, are causing discontent among workers at all occupational levels." (O'Toole *et al.*, 1973) Millions are alienated.

"Alienation" is defined as "a feeling of powerlessness in the work system, meaninglessness of the activities engaged in and of the products of work, isolation from supportive contacts with others, and self-estrangement." In its more advanced stages it results in withdrawal from social and political activity, but it also leads to activity in radical political or social movements, and sometimes to taking refuge in the counter culture. In its less advanced stages it leads to underproduction and vague discontents. It is most visible in unskilled autoworkers, bound by their higher wages and regulated hours to the assembly line, but restless in their anonymity, in their feeling of inability to control their work, and in their detachment from the product of their work. The findings of the task force on *Work in America* may be drawn on for an analysis of the situation before the recent increase in the number of unemployed, and may be summarized as follows.

Blue-collar workers carry the frustrations of assembly line work home or into society, or retreat into apathy. Only 24 percent (O'Toole *et al.*, 1973, p. 16) would choose similar work again. They tend to be aggressive against those who do not share their way of life, distrust others, and feel personally and politically ineffective. They do want self-respect, good achievement records, personal and occupational growth, and opportunity to make their own contribution to their work. It is their lack of control over their own work pace and work schedules, the discontinuity or dead-endedness of their careers, and the financial burdens of family life that alienate them. The inability of members of the working class to rise to the

middle class, now that the frontier is closed, immigration down, and the economy static, mean the destruction of the American dream. Being labelled, and locked in as, manual workers compound the frustrations of the work itself and of the work situation.

White-collar workers appear about as badly off, despite white-collar privileges such as weekly rather than hourly pay, managerial dress, and day-shift work. Only some 43 percent say they would again choose such work. The office clerk is now the typical American worker, one of large numbers, engaged in work which has been so divided as to make it in many ways a paper assembly line staffed by white-collar workers sitting at desks instead of benches or operating keypunches instead of punch presses. Semi-skilled, they are expendable when production or sales are down. Working in masses, they lose touch with their managers, they become estranged not only from the positions, jobs, and occupations, in which they work, but also from their organizations, their industries, and from society. They do not seek to pursue careers, they merely take them as they come, working merely for the economic support, the life-structure, and the leisure that work makes possible. They lack commitment.

Managers fare somewhat better, but the task force review makes it amply clear that managers too suffer from the ills which minimize commitment and bring about alienation. Surveys show that they characteristically believe that they lack influence in decision-making despite the fact that they must carry out company policies. More than half of those surveyed in a Gallup Poll felt that they could be more productive "if they tried." Feelings of occupational obsolescence develop as a result of technical, organizational and cultural changes, underlined particularly since these surveys were made before the budget crunch of the recession and the consequent "weeding out of dead wood." Failure to rise to top management, due to combinations of the pyramid, personal ability, and the cessation of expansion, creates in management, as in blue and white collar workers, a feeling of being locked in. The current interest in mid-career changes is but one manifestation of this restlessness.

Youth too has its woes, the woes of powerlessness, of meaninglessness, of being locked out of opportunity. The task force makes it clear that the majority of youth do not turn to the counter culture, although they may ape some of its superficial ways. The Yankielovich surveys show that nearly 80 percent feel some career commitment, 75 percent subscribe to the work ethic. But, being better educated than their elders, they seek opportunities for self-expression in their work; having learned to distrust the Establishment during the Vietnam War, they want a voice in policy; having

been made aware of organizational tendencies to disregard human values, they seek work in which humanism and altruism are realizable values.

Ethnic minorities are "serious casualties of the work system in our society." (O'Toole *et al.*, 1973, p. 51) Their woes are the same as those of other workers, aggravated by discrimination. Having "a piece of the action" takes on more importance as educational levels and aspirations rise and as being locked in is increasingly evident.

Women, locked out of most of the working world for generations despite occasional open doors during major wars, and locked into lower-level occupations when working, also find the usual contemporary causes of alienation aggravated by discrimination. As they enter more and more occupations, more and more organizations and industries, they turn from feeling locked out to feeling locked in at the lower level positions even when in the higher occupations. Like blue-collar, white-collar, managerial, and professional workers, in all of which groups they are now found in significant numbers, they want to feel they have some control over the pace and schedules of their work, they want expressive or ego-involving work, they want satisfying associations with others and opportunities for self-esteem. Like many workers in lower-level occupations, like other minorities, they tend to feel that they lack these opportunities. Like others, some are committed only to work, others have some feeling of position, job, occupational, or organizational commitment. With opening doors, and more education, increasing numbers have a feeling of career commitment, but feel alienated when blocked.

Older workers appear to constitute the last minority, as they too object to powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and estrangement. Long alienated from society by the breaking up of the nuclear family, alienated also by contemporary mandatory retirement plans, but better able to work than ever and more in need of meaning than ever with better health and increased longevity, this alienated group also wants a piece of the action, of work over which they have some control and in which they can use abilities, express interests, and find fellowship.

It seems likely that, as the pressures from the alienated are made to be felt by their higher levels of education and by their increasing organization, work will be restructured to permit more self-expression, organizations will be modified, authority will be increasingly shared, and the quality of community life will improve to a degree which permits greater involvement, greater participation, and greater commitment to work by those who perform it. Career education, the Task Force points out, should not be vocational education, not preparation for a "single, lifetime, occupational role

identity" (O'Toole *et al.*, 1973, p. 140); that it should have an important role in helping students to understand and to appreciate the nature of work, and by making it possible for them to play, in the school, roles which prepare them to be responsible and self-directing in productive activities, be these school assignments and projects or paid work in industry.

The Counter Culture.—The counter-culture is made-up largely of young people who reject the establishment, whatever its degree and nature of automation, who seek a way of life outside of the existing economic system. It is not today an organized movement, although it has occasional leaders. Not numerous (O'Toole *et al.*, 1973, p. 43, they are audible and visible. What is likely to be the impact of this movement, of this sub-culture which declares its detachment from the main culture?

History teils us that there have been previous counter-cultures. Those of the Middle Ages, the Albigensians and the Hussites, for example, were destroyed by the dominant Catholic culture. Those of the 16th and 17th centuries either went underground in countries such as France when the Huguenots lost influence with the successors of Henri IV, or like the English Puritans emigrated first to Holland and then to the New World, or like those in Geneva and in Prussia, became the dominant culture by force of intellect or by force of arms. The Protestant Reformation is one of the few counter-cultures which became the dominant culture of a substantial area for a substantial period of time. But Holland is now about equally Protestant and Catholic, Puritan Massachusetts now contains more Catholic Irish, Poles, and Italians than it does English Protestants, and in most European and American countries the two dominant Christian churches show signs of rapprochement.

The counter-cultures of the 19th century were, unlike the earlier forms and like the current versions, social and economic rather than religious, owing their origins to the liberal political thought and to the philosophical utopias of the 18th century. Robert Owen's utopian communities of New Lanark, Harmony, and New Harmony flourished briefly and are now just landmarks; the Shaker villages which were so beautifully and so well built prospered for a generation and are now museums; the Amish persist as quaint, but nearly overwhelmed, relics of religio-economic idealism; William Morris' utopian book, *News From Nowhere*, got nowhere; and while Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* got all over Eastern Europe, most of Asia, and to parts of this hemisphere, the counter-culture of communism in its oldest establishments looks increasingly like capitalism as we know it today.

History seems to show that counter-cultures blend with the dominant culture. Sometimes they do this by being wiped out as were the medieval heresies, sometimes by dying out as did the 19th century utopias, and sometimes by assimilation or accommodation, as in the cases of Protestantism-Catholicism and perhaps of capitalism-communism. History shows even more clearly that the isolated attempts of idealists or dropouts to withdraw from the dominant culture and live their own atypical way of life are doomed to failure. Already, today, we have seen many erstwhile cultural dropouts also drop out from the scattered counter-cultural communes in which they failed to find happiness. In due course they work their way back into the dominant culture to become part of the system, although often in idiosyncratic occupations. It is still early to judge the current alienated generation, but this is what happened to the Lost Generation of the 1920's, to the social radicals of the 1930's, to those removed from the mainstream of society by military service during the early 1940's, and, sometime during the late 1970's we may expect it to happen to the scattered copouts of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The Future

If the Establishment is, in Hegel's sense of the terms, the thesis and if Alienation and the Counter-Culture are the antitheses, what is the synthesis to be? What of the future that Alvin Toffler (1970) says is shocking us? Although we do not know what the proportions of *ego-involved* and *society-maintaining workers*, and, to add to Havighurst's (1953) categories, of *society-maintained non-workers*, will be in the automated era which seems to lie ahead of us, it does seem fairly likely that we will become a three-class society. We already know that the highly-trained and very able men and women are very much in demand in the emerging economy; as Anne Roe (1956) pointed out in her landmark book, these are the people who have the longest work-days and the longest work-weeks, for their abilities are so much in demand and they find their demanding work so self-actualizing that they take work home with them and work evenings and weekends. It already seems clear that other workers are needed as skilled technicians to help carry out the designs of the more creative members of society and to install, repair, and maintain the automated machinery which will operate and monitor itself, or to attend to the health, aesthetic, educational, and recreational needs of people. These society-maintaining workers will in many cases find their work emotionally rewarding, but for some, at least, the rewards will be the uses to which their work enables them to put their leisure.

It seems also that a large proportion of people who are less able to profit from an education, the easily replaced marginal workers in our present economy, is likely to be unneeded in a more advanced economic system and will be maintained by it as a new leisure class.

It is easy enough to visualize the life of the scientist, the philosopher, the physician, the teacher, the millwright, the mechanic, the playground director, the artist, and the woodcarver in the transitional or fully developed society of the future, for we know the nature of ego-involving work and the ease with which many people find the life-structuring and self-expressive potentials of work satisfying. But it is not so easy to conceive of a way of life in which many people work only 15 or 25 hours per week, for only 15 or 20 years, simply because certain kinds of work need to be done, and it is more difficult still to imagine life for a non-working majority. It is hoped by career educators such as Hoyt and Evans, and apparently by counseling psychologists such as Crites and this writer, that those who work at all will, like those in intellectually and emotionally demanding jobs, find in work ample opportunities for playing significant roles and for self-expression. But this hardly seems likely, as O'Toole and his production-oriented collaborators point out, so both most workers in their extensive free-time and the non-working or new leisure class will need to be helped to find new roles in other theaters which make life meaningful.

New Roles in New Theatres.—What will these roles and theaters be? Surveys of how semiskilled and unskilled workers, and the unemployed, use their leisure are not encouraging. If they do not moonlight on other jobs, thereby demonstrating the failure of our current system to support them adequately or their own failure to find other satisfying roles in our still-industrial society, they fritter away their time at the local pub or club, or at home, watching television shows that mesmerize them. It was made clear by the studies of the unemployed made during the 1930's that not to be needed by the economic system soon results in apathy (Super, 1942). We know from both social history and literature that the leisure classes of the past found it difficult to develop personally meaningful and socially desirable roles. For every Montesquieu who used his society-maintained leisure productively, there were several Tom Joneses whose waking hours were devoted to the three "f's" of fox-hunting, fighting, and flirting, and whose sleeping hours were devoted to sleeping in something other than the usual dictionary sense of that word. When people have no better ways to achieve distinction in the eyes of their fellows, they think up elaborate rituals for doing easy things the hard way, such as killing foxes with packs of hounds, horses, and men dressed up in pink coats, packs

which course at breakneck speed across plowed fields and frantic farmyards; they fight duels at the drop of a hat or a glove, or they go off to foreign wars where ready-made dangers give trying to stay alive some tenuous meaning; and they organize elaborate dances to display their physical and their flirtatious prowess, maintaining gigolos or mistresses in styles to which they had not previously been accustomed. The shallow use of leisure changes in specific content, but bowling, ear-splitting music, spectator basketball, and camping out in the sylvan slums that we call national parks are not really very superior to earlier uses when viewed psychologically and sociologically.

In our changing industrial society, as the Protestant work ethic becomes less meaningful, as ego-involving work roles become less available to the average man or woman, new leisure roles will need to take the place of the old as ways of giving people status, of giving meaning to their daily activities, of providing them with means of self-expression.

This need has been pointed out before, especially for those who have dominated paid work, for men. But it needs to be faced also for women. Women are saying that they want their share of the paid work roles in order to achieve self-actualization. Just as work roles are becoming scarcer, some of them are becoming more demanding intellectually and emotionally, and others less meaningful. Judging by O'Toole's analysis of the current reports on the percentages of workers who like their work, many a man should be ready to say to the career-oriented woman wanting a job like his: "Here, take it—you're welcome to it!" Certainly the women's liberationists are staking a great deal on a type of role which is changing so radically that they risk finding that they are building their houses on sand. Some of society's creative energies need to go into developing meaningful roles for both men and women in theaters or arenas of life other than that of work. Three that come to mind are the avocations (sports and hobbies arena), community affairs (which range from town planning and service to the schools to public works and recreation), and home and family. Although it was a man who wrote, "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home," and a man may get into trouble nowadays for saying so in this context, liberated women may well discover, along with liberated men, that the home is one of the best sources of ego-maintaining and self-actualizing roles society can provide. They may also find that, with the community resources for the use of leisure which surround it, it must and can provide the important combination of adult roles for most people.

If this must happen, because of the fading capacity of jobs to do this for large numbers of people, we need to understand these resources. We need to identify the possible roles, find ways of giving them the status in the eyes of others that work roles have given to people in the past and will give to fewer people in the future. We need to develop educational programs which will equip people to play these roles well and with satisfaction. If this is so, we will need to define career education, career guidance, and career counseling as something more than occupational, more even than vocational. The focus will need to be on roles, on roles in which people can find satisfaction in a variety of settings, in employment, in civic affairs, in avocations, and in the family. We will need to ask of a stranger, not "What is his or her job?," but "What are the roles he or she plays?" That could be a rather embarrassing and in due course rewarding question, for it seems to probe more deeply into the meanings and values of life.

A study (Super, 1940) of the relationships between vocations and avocations pointed in this direction. Interested in what some mental hygienists called the theory of balance, the question investigated was the degree to which hobbies resemble work, and what kind of combination of avocation and vocation is most likely to be associated with satisfaction or happiness. The happiest men were those who, interested in some type of activity, pursued it in both their work and in their leisure, in both vocation and avocation. These were the men with *extensive* avocations, hobbies which were an extension of the content of their work into their play. Those whose major hobbies were different from their jobs tended to be less satisfied with their jobs and with life in general, and their measured interests were more like those of men in occupations which resembled their hobbies than like those of men in occupations like their own jobs. That study was done just as World War II broke out; the very concept of leisure soon seemed absurd, and no one has pursued the idea further. But it may turn out to be very important to ask, for career education and counseling, not "What kind of work should education be offered, what kind of occupation might interest you?," but rather, "What kinds of roles in what theaters should people be educated, and in what kinds of roles would you find outlets for your abilities and interests?" Someone will someday no doubt develop and publish a *Role and Theater Interest Inventory* for use in career counseling and career education.

Coming of Age.–Career education is coming of age. That it has taken several years to do this is made clear by the widespread misuse of the term "career," and by the almost exclusive emphasis on occupations by many counselors and by most career educators. It is made clear by the curious avoidance, until 1973 and the present, of definitions and of terms such as jobs, occupations, vocations, and careers. It is made clear by the non-utilization of what is known about vocational maturity by the Comprehensive Career Education Model's emphasis on choice on entering 10th grade, and by the lack of career education materials based on the concepts of career or vocational life stages, of career development tasks, and of discontinuous careers characterized by changing occupations. When the concepts of career development are more widely understood, and when its methods and materials are more visible and are put to use in the curriculum, career education will indeed have come of age.

Recognizing Multifaceted Careers.–But coming of age is not just an internal matter, it is a function, too, of adapting to the society in which age is attained. In a society in which work roles seem destined to play a less important part in the lives of many men and women than our middle class and work-ethic biases have previously led us to believe, career education must take into account the many theaters in which careers take place, the numerous roles which can constitute a career, and the non-occupational roles which acquire prominence in society as that of the occupation diminishes. Educators need to think of aptitudes, interests, and values as traits which may be utilized, find outlets, and seek satisfaction in available occupations, in avocational activities, in civic activities, and in family activities. We need to ask ourselves which roles seem likely to provide the best outlets for each student, and in what combination. We need to provide educational experiences which make young people aware of the various simultaneous and sequential roles which constitute careers and of the several theaters in which they may be played, facilitating their exploration and their preparation to play those that seem most appropriate. We need to recognize, and to help students to recognize long before choice points are reached, that self-fulfillment takes place in various roles and arenas and that people play different roles in various sequences and combinations. We need to do what we can, as behavior scientists and as educators, to clarify the non-occupational roles and combinations of roles in the several theaters over the life span. We need to contribute, as educators and as citizens, to ascribing honor and importance to appropriate

non-occupational roles as they begin to take on more significance in a leisure-oriented society.

The *General Objectives* of career education and career guidance which emerge from this essay may be concisely stated as follows:

1. To provide students with an understanding of the nature and sequence of life stages and of career stages, of the developmental tasks which characterize these stages, and of the changing major roles which people play (in sequence and simultaneously) in the various theaters of activity in the several life stages;
2. To help students develop realistic self concepts, with esteem for themselves and others, as a basis for career decisions;
3. To develop in students a realistic and appreciative understanding of the evolving world of work, with a broad perspective on opportunities and a specific focus on one or more clusters of occupations, together with knowledge of the educational and occupational pathways that lead to them, of the work and ways of life that they involve, and of the types of occupational changes which may be encountered;
4. To help students know and appreciate the many changing avocational, domestic, and civic outlets for developed interests and abilities, outlets which in an automated society often supplement, complement, or even supplant paid work in making a satisfying career;
5. To provide a basis for the making of sequential, increasingly specific, and sometimes recycled career decisions in which self and occupational knowledge are synthesized for self-realization in work, in homemaking, in civic life, and in leisure, in ways which meet social as well as individual needs;
6. To make these experiences available in ways appropriate to all students at each stage of their formal and continuing education.

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